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New South

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Mobile Violence

Motorized Mobs in a Florida County

GROVELAND, Fla., last month took its place with other small Southern towns which have suddenly found themselves in the spotlight of national publicity. The reason for this unwelcome prominence was racial violence.

Whose Violence?

Residents of Groveland generally were resentful that the widespread publicity localized the disturbance in that town. As they pointed out, the greater part of the mob activity took place, not in Groveland, but in smaller places nearby: Mascotte, a town of about 300, several miles west; Stuckey's Still, Mascotte's Negro settlement; Bay Lake, a small farming community southeast of Groveland. It was also pointed out that the mob was by no means exclusively made up of Grovelanders; in fact, it was claimed, the majority of the mobsters came from other places in the county, from neighboring counties, and even from outside the State. Exactly who made up the mobs will probably never be publicly known. But it is certain that the violence ranged over almost the whole of south Lake County and that Groveland's importance was that of a natural hub of activity.

Groveland has a population of approximately 1,000 — 600 whites and 400 Negroes. It has an unprepossessing business section consisting mainly of a few frame buildings housing stores and shops, a sawmill, and several filling stations. It should not be thought, however, that Groveland is a "poor" community; among its residents are well-to-do grove owners, merchants, and businessmen.

The area which Groveland serves has some cattle, timber, and truck farming, but the economy rests primarily on the citrus industry. Citrus groves dot the surrounding countryside, and most of the people make their living by growing, trucking, or packing the fruit — or by supplying goods and services to those who do. Nor are all the grove owners white. A good many of the Negro residents have groves of their own, ranging in size from a clump of orange trees in the backyard to large groves which employ many workers. But most of the Negroes work as pickers, pruners, truck drivers, and so on, for the large grove owners. The past few years have seen a steady rise in their standard of living, as a result of increased wages and the savings accumulated by Negro servicemen and their families during the war. This growing prosperity has made it possible for many local Negroes to improve their homes, buy modern appliances and automobiles, and in other ways to live better than was ever before possible.

Race Relations

The eruption of violence in the Groveland area appears to have come as a distinct surprise to many of the responsible people of both races. There had been few, if any, overt signs of racial tension. On the contrary, race relations were generally regarded as improving. It is true that there had been sporadic Klan demonstra-

tions in Lake County since before the November presidential election. But these apparently originated in Orange County (where the city of Orlando is located) and in Klan strongholds elsewhere in Florida. There had been no evidence of an active local Klan, and most persons were inclined to shrug off the pre-election demonstrations as of no importance.

It is also true that many local white persons resented those Negroes whom they considered "too independent" — notably those who had become landowners and were out-prospering some of their white neighbors. Just how bitter this resentment was did not become fully evident until the violence began. But it would be a mistake to conclude that envy was *the* cause of the mob outbreak. As the following account indicates, the violence had several roots. To single out any one of them as the exclusive cause serves no useful purpose.

The crime allegedly committed — the rape of a white woman by Negroes — was one which arouses the most violent prejudices. Yet neither is that sufficient explanation for what happened. The lawlessness in Lake County went far beyond a spontaneous mob action. It persisted in the face of determined efforts by law enforcement officers and the National Guard to halt it; it was well organized and shrewdly led; in brief, it resembled a military operation more than a sudden outburst by local citizens roused to venegeance.

Civil Strife

It is this element of organized civil strife that makes the Groveland disorders of special interest. In other respects, the affair was less drastic in its effects than much of the mass lawlessness which has afflicted the South in the past. For, it should be noted, no one was seriously injured or killed during the entire strife-torn week; and, again as a welcome departure from the usual pattern, the sheriff and those who helped him showed a genuine desire to see law and order maintained. There are some debatable points in the law enforcement procedures used, but certainly the sheriff deserves praise for protecting his prisoners from the mob and for his courage in the skirmishing.

The purpose of this brief summary is not to assess the innocence or guilt of the Negro men accused of the crime.* Nor is it to make a complete evaluation of the law enforcement methods used by county and state police and National Guard units. Each of these fields requires expert study and deliberation — the first by the courts, the second (one may hope) by those authorities in Florida and elsewhere who are charged with the duty of maintaining civil peace. There are aspects of the affair, however, which can and should be considered by private citizens interested in the progress of the South. These are the aspects we shall consider here.

WHAT HAPPENED

It was about 3:30 A. M., Saturday, July 16, when Willie Padgett drove into a service station on the outskirts of Leesburg, Fla. He was excited and disheveled, and the story he told startled the sleepy attendant wide awake. These were the facts as he gave them:

Padgett, a 21-year-old white farmer of Bay Lake, had taken his 17-year-old wife to a dance in Clermont. After the dance they decided to drive to Leesburg, some twenty miles away, to get something to eat. They had driven within five miles of Leesburg when they decided to turn back. While turning around, Padgett's car stalled and the battery proved too weak to restart it. It was 2:30 A. M., and the highway was deserted. Padgett got out, raised the hood, and tried to get the starter to turn over. As he was working, a car drew up beside the stalled machine. In it were four young Negro men, all of them about twenty years old, who offered to help. One of them lived near Bay Lake and was well known to the Padgetts. The men got out and began pushing the Padgett car. Then, said Padgett, they suddenly turned on him and knocked him to the ground, took his

* The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, following its investigations, has charged: (1) that the three imprisoned men are victims of a "trumped-up" charge; (2) that confessions were extorted from them by brutal methods; (3) that the fourth suspect, slain by a posse, had no connection at all with the Groveland events. The Southern Regional Council has no information in either corroboration or refutation of these charges. It is hoped they will receive the thorough investigation their seriousness warrants. The NAACP has undertaken the legal defense of the accused men.

wallet, seized Mrs. Padgett, forced her into their car and drove away.

As he lay on the ground, Padgett said, he could see that the Negroes' car bore Lake County license plates; but he could not make out the number, since the tag was partially covered by a handkerchief. After about half an hour, Padgett managed to start his own car and drive into Leesburg.

The police were promptly notified and a search for the girl and her abductors got under way. She was found, coincidentally enough, by the same service station operator who first learned of the crime. He discovered her at 7:30 A. M. wandering beside the highway between Leesburg and Groveland. She was taken first to the city hall in Groveland and then to the Holland Hospital in Leesburg, where a medical examination reportedly confirmed her story that she had been criminally attacked.

Mounting Tension

Word of the incident spread rapidly in the Groveland area and tension mounted quickly. One reason for the swift public anger was the intricate pattern of kinship in the area. A great many local residents are, in some fashion, related to Mrs. Padgett and reacted to the news of her attack with familial indignation. Men from the surrounding countryside, most of them armed, began gathering in Groveland. As in any tense situation, rumors were widespread. The most persistent story was that the Ku Klu Klan was planning to wipe out the entire Negro community of Groveland that night.

Alarmed by the threat of violence, some of the more substantial white citizens showed concern for the safety of the local Negroes. A leading white merchant sent word to the Negro community that a mob was in the making and that it would be best for them to leave town for the night. A number of grove owners used their automobiles to move their Negro employees to the larger cities nearby, such as Leesburg, Lakeland, and Orlando. Other Negroes left by truck, by bus, by train — some even on foot. By nightfall practically the entire Negro community was deserted.

Meanwhile, the law enforcement officers had not been idle. Lake County Sheriff W. V. McCall had sworn in a number of special deputies and launched a search for the Negro suspects. By the end of the day, two of the suspects were in custody. Early in the evening, the sheriff, escorted by patrol cars, moved them from the county jail at Tavares to the state prison at Raiford.

In Groveland the crowd continued to grow. When word reached there that two suspects were being held in the county jail, some 75 men, including the father and husband of the assaulted girl, loaded into cars and drove to Tavares. They were met on the steps of the jail by the sheriff, who talked with them for about an hour.

"You people elected me sheriff of Lake County," he was reported as saying. "You knew at that time I was sworn to uphold the law and could not sanction mob violence. You gave me that job to do, and I have to protect my prisoners. They're not here, but I can't tell you where they are. Now, I'm asking you to work with me on this case instead of against me."

The members of the mob were not easily satisfied. They did not agree to leave until the sheriff offered to let a delegation inspect the jail and see that the prisoners were not there. Willie Padgett, his father-in-law, and several other men were chosen to make the inspection. When they emerged from the jail and reported that the sheriff had told the truth, the men returned to their cars and drove back to Groveland.

"They were armed to the gills," the sheriff said later. "I knew them all. They were determined, but they were sober, reasonable fellows."

Third Suspect

By a fortunate bit of irony, the sheriff himself did not know at the time that a third suspect was in the jail when the mob's delegation inspected it. He was a young Negro named Charles Greenlee, who had been arrested early Saturday morning in Groveland, before the alleged rape had become known. He was taken into custody for suspicious loitering and possessing a pistol. It was not until Sunday that, according to the sheriff, the stories told by the two other accused men implicated Greenlee. Then he too was quietly removed to the state prison.

Far from dispersing after it left the

county jail, the mob was augmented by other cars joining the procession. By the time the motorcade reached Groveland, the number of men had reached an estimated 250. Balked in its efforts to seize the suspects, the mob did the next best thing: it sought out a Negro cafe owned and operated by the father of one of them, Samuel Shepherd. Here, the tension that had been mounting found a temporary release in aimless destructiveness. Shotguns, pistols, and rifles were fired at the building and into the air; some of the mob cruised about through the deserted Negro section with guns firing from their car windows.

Then it occurred to someone that the father of one of the suspects lived near the Bay Lake community. The string of automobiles promptly drove there and shot up the empty house. It was about four o'clock Sunday morning by the time the excitement wore off and the last members of the mob dispersed to their homes.

Sunday was not the quiet day it usually is in Groveland. Knots of men stood about on the main street, hard-eyed and watchful. Automobiles from nearby towns and rural areas, some from other counties, could be seen on the streets. At about 4:30 P. M. a procession of twenty cars, bearing Orange County license plates, cruised slowly about the town. In each car were four unmasked men who silently tossed out leaflets entitled "Ideals of the Ku Klux Klan." The leaflets bore the imprint of the Association of Georgia Klans, which has its headquarters in Atlanta.

National Guard

A short time later, a committee made up of leading citizens of Lake County called on Sheriff McCall. They expressed their alarm at the signs of unrest and asked the sheriff to request National Guard aid. The sheriff put through a call to the governor, and at about nine P. M. two units of the Guard, totaling roughly 80 men, arrived in Groveland. The rest of Sunday night passed without incident.

The mob activity reached its climax on Monday night. It was rumored that the Negroes in the area were arming. (This story apparently grew out of a report by an unidentified white woman of Mascotte that she had seen a band of armed Negroes while on her way home from church Sunday night.) At sunset, an armed mob of more than 100 men set up a road-block between Mascotte and Center Hill, about three miles from Groveland. Passing cars were stopped and searched for Negroes. None was found, however, since the State Patrol halted all cars driving in that direction and turned back those occupied by Negroes.

Shooting Spree

After a while, the group abandoned its road-block, got into cars, and headed for Stuckey's Still, a small Negro community near Mascotte. The sheriff, his deputies, and members of the State Patrol, who had been watching the mob's activities, followed in their cars. When they arrived at Stuckey's Still, they found members of the mob firing indiscriminately into the houses which made up the settlement. There was no sign of life from within the houses; presumably most of the Negro occupants had left, and those few who remained kept well hidden.

The sheriff first tried ordering the group to cease fire and disband. When his orders were ignored, he and his deputies used tear gas to force the mob to withdraw. Later, he conferred with a leader of the mob, who agreed to stop any further violence but added a threat to wipe out every Negro section in south Lake County if there were any further "incidents" involving Negroes.

The mob did not disperse. It re-formed at Mascotte, where the armed men entrenched themselves in buildings and in in trucks. Seventeen Guardsmen, sent to Mascotte to keep order, were withdrawn when it became obvious that they were heavily outnumbered and, in fact, were walking their posts under the rifle muzzles of the hidden mob members. The withdrawal was effected after Sheriff McCall got the promise of the mob's leader that there would be "no further violence."

Only a few minutes later, three Negro houses in Bay Lake, eight miles away, went up in flames. They had been set on fire by a band of white men who ignited bottles of gasoline and hurled them against the buildings. One of the houses was owned by the father of one of the suspects and the other two were owned by a Negro fortune-teller who was generally disliked

in the community.

It had become obvious by this time that stronger measures were needed if order was to be maintained. On Tuesday, at the sheriff's request, the governor ordered into the area the entire 116th Field Artillery Battalion of the National Guard. Martial law was virtually put into effect. The city council of Groveland invoked an old law providing for a ten o'clock curfew. The acknowledged leader of the mob was summoned to a conference with the state attorney. The commander of the Guard unit declared, "If any mob assembles, it will be dispersed with whatever force is necessary." This show of military strength prevented any further mass violence, although tension continued at a high pitch for several days. Bands of armed men in automobiles continued to prowl about the area, and there were minor incidents between resentful local persons and Guardsmen. The only overt threat of renewed violence occurred at Polk City, about twenty miles south of Groveland; there, a cross was burned in front of the Negro school and several Negro houses were fired at.

Speedy Indictments

One of the methods used by officials to forestall mob violence was a public display of the speed with which the legal machinery could be expected to move in punishing the accused Negroes. A special grand jury of 18 men, one of them a Negro, was hastily convened at Tavares on Wednesday. After six hours of deliberation, the grand jury returned indictments against the three men in custody. The state attorney announced that they would be tried at an early date. The grand jury did not concern itself with an investigation of the widespread violence in the county, but adjourned after returning the indictments. The circuit judge who impaneled the jury declared: "I don't see that there is any likelihood of transferring the case to another county. I have no fear of violence or attempted violence in the event of a trial in Lake County."

Sheriff McCall promised that an all-out effort would be made to apprehend the fourth suspect. His promise was more than fulfilled. A week later a posse led by McCall and three other sheriffs shot to death a Negro man found in the woods near Greenville, Fla.; he was identified by McCall as Ernest Thomas, the fourth suspect in the Groveland assault case.

Gradually, under the watchful eyes and guns of the Guardsmen, the Groveland area returned to something approaching normal. Negroes who had been commuting to their jobs daily from Orlando returned to their homes. (Some Negro families returned only long enough to pack their belongings and leave for good.) An uneasy peace settled over the area, and on Sunday morning, July 24, the National Guard troops were withdrawn.

COMMENTS

Law Enforcement

Sheriff McCall received much praise from local white citizens and the press for his handling of the disorders. They point out that he used considerable skill and ingenuity in keeping his prisoners out of the hands of the mob. In the face of an unruly group of armed men, far outnumbering law enforcement officers, he used tear-gas grenades. When the disorders grew alarming, he did not hesitate to call for National Guard reinforcements, though much of the community disapproved of this "outside interference." On several occasions, he laid aside his pistol and conferred with the mob and its leaders. He visited the "displaced" Negro residents at their temporary shelter in Orlando and assured them of his determination to provide adequate protection for them.

All this is to the sheriff's credit. It is a record too seldom matched in the past by peace officers in similar situations.

Nevertheless, there was some criticism of the sheriff's performance which deserves notice. Negroes in particular were critical of the fact that no arrests whatever were made of the ringleaders in the mob activity. No members of the mob were taken into custody for the burning of the three Negro dwellings or for the terroristic shooting sprees — despite the fact that law enforcement officers witnessed at least some of the disorders. As a matter of fact, these critics point out, the leaders of the mob were treated as generals of an opposing army; conferences were held, truces arranged, and conditions offered and ac-

cepted.

In fairness, it must be recognized that during the first few days of the disorders the sheriff was dealing with superior forces. Had the mob decided to "shoot it out with the law," the only recourse for the officers would have been a prompt retreat. Moreover, the arrest of the mob leaders at that time might have led to even more destructive rioting. But after the arrival of the National Guard battalion, sterner measures could have been taken against mobsters without any serious threat to the safety of the community. Apparently there was no effort at any time to take into custody the ringleaders — who were well known to the sheriff and other officers — or any of the lesser members of the mob. The reason for this remains obscure, but at least part of the explanation probably lies in this comment by a newspaperman: "After all, it's a rare elected official who goes out of his way to commit political suicide."

A second criticism dealt with the sheriff's discriminatory policy of confiscating arms. During the first few days, when the tension was at its height, officers searched Negroes entering or leaving the area for any weapons they might be transporting; on at least one occasion, a rifle was removed from a car occupied by Negroes. This in itself was no doubt a necessary, even laudable procedure. But unfortunately there is no record of white persons being similarly disarmed. Shotguns, rifles, and pistols were very much in evidence on the streets of Groveland and Mascotte and were put to illegal use in the shooting episodes which occurred. One reporter, describing a scene in Mascotte one night, declared it was almost impossible "to tell were the mob left off and law enforcement began." Almost everyone was armed, and the deputies' badges could hardly be seen in the darkness. As one Negro put it, it was hardly fair to allow one racial group to carry weapons and to deprive the other of any means of protecting homes and property.

Public Opinion

With the exceptions just mentioned, the law enforcement machinery operated with remarkable speed and efficiency. This was partly the result of the initiative shown by leading white residents of the area. It was they who first warned the Negro community that trouble was brewing and who helped transport the fleeing families to nearby cities. Hastily formed into a citizens' committee, they called on the sheriff Sunday and urged him to ask the governor to send National Guard troops into the area. This same group was apparently eager to assure the Negro residents that they would be given full protection on their return to Groveland. It is not too much to say that behind the law enforcement effort was a continuing pressure from influential elements of the white community.

Practical Reasons

There were sound, practical reasons for this concern on the part of substantial white citizens. As one Groveland merchant said, "The Negroes are a vital part of our economy. They spend a great per cent of the money in local stores. They are badly needed by farmers and growers." Some of the local people still remembered the disastrous experience of Ocoee, a small town about twenty miles to the east. Thirty years ago, Ocoee was a thriving citrus town with a sizable Negro population. In 1920 the attempt of a Negro veteran to vote resulted in a race riot, in the course of which fifteen or twenty Negro homes were burned. The secretary of the grand jury which investigated the incident estimated the number of Negroes killed at thirty to forty. In the words of one Grovelander, "The Negroes have never moved back and Ocoee is practically nothing today." Needless to say, civic leaders were anxious to avoid a similar fate for Groveland.

This enlightened self-interest, of course, was not universally present among local white persons. It was widely believed in the Negro community that a major cause of the mob violence was envy by many white persons of the Negroes' relative prosperity and growing bargaining power. One local Negro expressed it this way: "You know how it is. Some white folks just can't seem to stand seeing a colored man get a little something for himself." The use of terrorism as a corrective device to "keep the Negroes in their place" has a long tradition in the South; undoubtedly it lay at the bottom of much of the mob activity.

Ku Klux Klan

The part played in the Groveland affair by the Ku Klux Klan remains a matter of speculation. At no time were the traditional Klan regalia — masks, robes, and hoods — used by members of the mob. But there was other less dramatic evidence of the Klan's presence. On Sunday, it will be remembered, literature of the Associated Georgia Klans was distributed. A newspaper reporter who witnessed the later violence declared he had recognized "a number" of Klan members — including leaders of that organization from other counties — among the members of the mob. The presence of a great many cars bearing license plates from Orange County, a Klan stronghold, is suggestive.

Previous Klan activity in Lake County is also significant. During 1948, demonstrations of the hooded order were reported in that area on August 25, September 1, October 28, and November 3. These consisted mostly of motorcades and cross-burnings in such Lake County towns as Leesburg, Lakeland, Mt. Dora, Eustis, Tavares, and Clermont.

One of the striking things about the Groveland disturbance was the prominent role played by automobiles. The whole affair was exceedingly mobile from beginning to end. The Negro population was evacuated largely in automobiles and trucks; the mobs sped from place to place like *panzer* units; the law enforcement officers and the National Guard were heavily dependent on their vehicles and communications system. This is not too surprising in an area where large numbers of grove workers are customarily moved about by truck, where truck-farming is an important occupation, and where daily commuting between towns and rural areas is a common practice But it is doubtful that the high degree of coordination shown by the mob could have been achieved without earlier practice. It is not mere coincidence that the Klan in Florida had developed an efficient technique of organized movement by motorcade.

This incident shows clearly the dangerous potentialities of the Klan and similar groups, even in those places where they have little active support. Few people in Lake County were seriously perturbed by the Klan demonstrations of 1948; they were regarded simply as the stagings of a small "crackpot" fringe. But the demonstrations *were* important, as later developments showed. They were, in effect, dress rehearsals for the violent week of July 16-24. The alleged rape of July 15 was enough to arouse many of the people who had been apathetic to the appeals of the hate-mongers. And, once aroused, they were ready followers of those skilled in mob leadership and storm-trooper tactics.

There are ample precedents — the chief one being the rise to power of the Nazis in Germany — for the belief that all organized terrorist movements are dangerous. However small and ineffective in normal times, they can achieve sudden and deadly importance in times of crisis. Those responsible citizens of the Groveland area who regarded the activities of the Klan complacently made a serious mistake.

Administration of Justice

It is often said that the best deterrent to mob violence in cases of criminal assault is speedy trial and conviction of the culprits. This is a dangerous doctrine. Justice, in its proper sense, cannot be hurried; when it is, the result is frequently a violation of the judicial process. Our court system is designed to give the accused person the benefit of every doubt, but that does not occur when cases are tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and passion. Authorities are often swayed, consciously or unconsciously, by their desire to appease the wrath of the public.

We are not concerned here with the guilt or innocence of the three Negroes accused in the Groveland case. But it is obvious that they deserve a fair and objective trial. The grand jury, perhaps necessarily, made its investigation during a time of great public excitement; it was not even possible to hear testimony by the accused men, since they could not safely be returned to the county. The nature of public opinion was well illustrated by a cartoon prominently displayed by a daily newspaper in a nearby city. On the day the grand jury convened, the paper bore across its front page the picture of four empty electric chairs, under the imperative caption "No Compromise!"

In view of all this, some of the state-

ments made by local officials were disturbing. It will be recalled that the state attorney declared the accused men would receive an early trial*; the circuit judge announced that he saw no reason why the trial should not be held in Lake County. In such a case, one might question the advisability of a hasty trial, however satisfying it might be to the relatives and friends of the assaulted girl. And, whenever the case may be tried, the need for a change of venue is obvious. Public sentiment being what it is in Lake County, a calm trial and unbiased consideration by a jury would be well-nigh impossible.

One statement made by the state attorney was reassuring. He said that the accused men would get "an absolutely fair trial just like anybody else." If that is to be the case, it would seem necessary that the judge consider again moving the trial to another county.

LESSONS FOR THE SOUTH

The events in the Groveland area carry some valuable lessons, not only for Lake County and the State of Florida, but for the South as a whole. Following are the chief points and some of the courses of action which they suggest:

1. Local Citizens. Prompt action by a "citizens' committee" played an important part in minimizing the effects of the mob activity. Similar alertness to signs of trouble on the part of private individuals can do much to strengthen the hand of law enforcement everywhere. As a further step in this direction, the Southern Regional Council has long encouraged continuing committees made up of responsible members of both races.

2. Hate Groups. This outbreak points up once again the fact that no community can afford to ignore the existence of terrorist organizations, even when they offer no immediate threat to order. State laws, city ordinances, and public sentiment curbing the activities of such groups should not wait until a crisis has developed.

3. Peace Officers. A great many law enforcement officers could profit by some of the examples set by Sheriff McCall. They could learn that it is possible, with a little ingenuity, to protect prisoners from mob violence; that officers need not forfeit their responsibilities when they are outnumbered by mobsters; that state reinforcements should be summoned promptly when wholesale violence threatens.

4. Mobile Violence. Last but perhaps most important, citizens in general and law enforcement authorities in particular should take note of the technique of motorized mob activity which figured so prominently in Lake County. Obviously, the old methods of law enforcement are not adequate to deal with such a situation. When a mob can strike in any direction, move rapidly from place to place, the forces of law must be able to move equally fast. In order that movements of the mob may be known at all times, an efficient communications system becomes a necessity.

It is to be hoped that officials at all levels — local, state, and federal — will cooperate in developing methods to cope with this new pattern of mobile lawlessness. A careful study of the Lake County disorders would unquestionably be a fruitful beginning.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

* Since this report was written, the trial of the accused men has been set for August 29.

NEW SOUTH

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
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Guy B. Johnson.....*Vice-President*
Carter Wesley.....*Vice-President*
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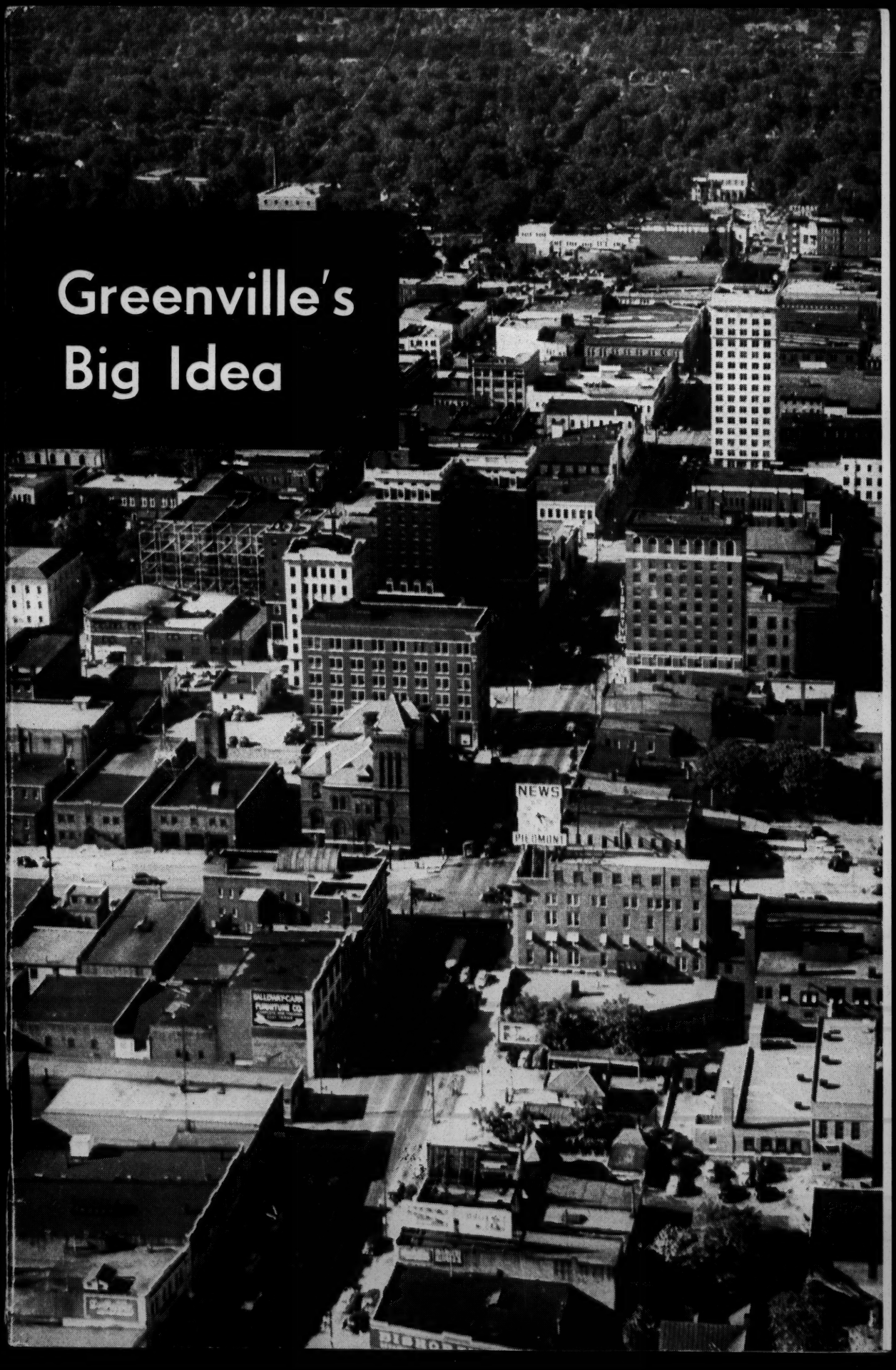
To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.


Greenville's
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Community Council of Greenville County

May 25, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive
Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

May we express our very real appreciation to the Southern Regional Council for the help given in carrying through this Self-Survey of Negro Conditions in Greenville. The expert advice of your staff not only in the early days of the study but in the final job of editing this report ensured success.

Since the study began last July there have been many signs of the growing interest in the needs of our Negro citizens. A strong movement has been initiated towards providing better recreation programs and facilities, a maternal care project is under way, progress is being made toward securing a state park for Negroes in this area. These are only a few of the concrete developments. Of more importance is that greater feeling of understanding and cooperation between both races that participated in this Study.

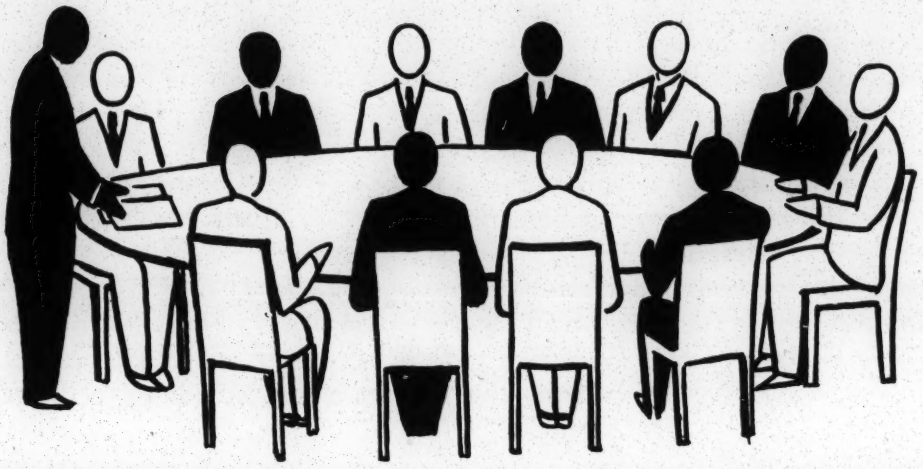
We hope that this publication will encourage those in other communities who see the need for a Self-Survey to start with the job. I know your organization will be as helpful to them as it has been to us.

Cordially,

W. F. Loggins

W. F. Loggins, President.

A Red Feather Service



Everybody's Business

EARLY in the spring of 1948, an idea began to grow in Greenville, South Carolina. The idea had to do with a lot of things that are talked about all the time — local action, cooperation, community betterment. But this time it was different. This time the idea grew because these things were not just "discussed"; they were put into action.

The idea started when a group of Negro women asked the Greenville YWCA to set up a branch "Y" for the colored community. The YWCA turned to the Community Council for advice. The result: plans for an over-all study of conditions affecting Negro citizens.

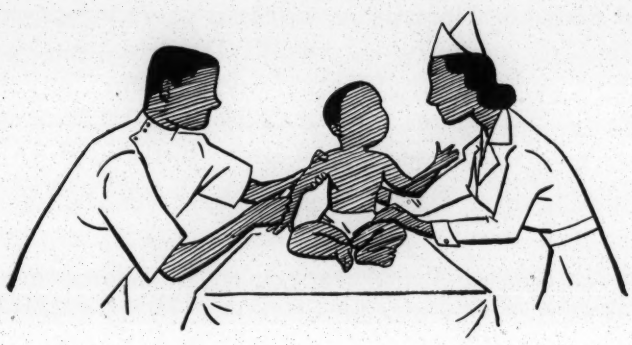
It was not until the summer of 1949 that the idea really took hold. Under the sponsorship of the Community Council, a Steering Committee of white and Negro leaders was formed. They agreed that Greenville's biggest problems were those facing the Negro community. They agreed, too, that solving those problems was not just the business of white people or colored people, of public agencies or private groups — but everybody's business. They agreed that this was to be a job for Greenville citizens from start to finish, a self-survey with emphasis on the **self.**

The Steering Committee decided to call for advisory help from the Southern Regional Council, which had aided Jacksonville, Florida, with its self-survey in 1946. Representatives of the Southern Regional Council met with the committee and supplied technical advice, both at the beginning and in the course of the survey.

Twelve fact-finding committees were set up: Population, Health, Sanitation and Safety, Law Enforcement, Transportation, Recreation, Religious Resources, Welfare, Industry and Employment, Community Participation, Education, and Housing. A white chairman and a Negro co-chairman were appointed to head each committee. A glance at the last page will show how representative that group was — and, incidentally, why the fact-finding can be expected to pay off with results. For the people who worked on the self-survey are people who carry weight in Greenville; they are people who make things happen. Some 200 persons turned out at a "kickoff" meeting and volunteered to help on the job. Others joined in later. Ministers rode buses to observe transportation services; housewives studied housing; doctors examined health facilities; engineers gathered facts about safety; teachers, lawyers, dentists, laborers, all did their share.

What resulted was not the bulky "professional" document a visiting expert might have prepared. Instead, the reports consist of simple facts, gathered by local people who want to put the facts to work. Fact-finding and action have been so closely linked together in many cases that it is hard to say where one left off and the other began.

But first let's see what the committees found. The sections that follow are brief, condensed versions of their reports and recommendations.



Health

SHORTCOMINGS in Negro medical care can be generally summed up in a few short phrases: too few hospital beds, inadequate pre-natal care, not enough Negro doctors and dentists.

Most of the general hospital care available to Negroes is provided at the Greenville General Hospital. The only other public hospital in the County open to them is the Greenville County Tuberculosis Hospital, which has 56 beds for white patients and 19 for Negro patients. The percentage of beds available to Negroes in the General Hospital is 15.4, compared with a population percentage of 25 to 30 per cent. The need for more beds has become increasingly urgent in recent years. Between 1943 and 1947, white hospital admissions to the General Hospital increased from 7,555 to 11,782, while Negro admissions were 1,678 in 1943 and 1,985 in 1947. The increase in white admissions was made possible by the addition of new facilities. A comparable increase in Negro admissions would doubtless have occurred had additional beds been made available for that racial group.

Only ward accommodations are provided for Negroes in the General Hospital. Negro nurses are employed on that ward to the extent that they are available; but there are no local facilities for the training of Negro nurses. The only toilet for women on the Negro ward is exposed in the middle of a utility room and must be screened for privacy.

The only other major general hospital in Greenville is St. Francis Hospital, a private Catholic institution maintained by the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis. The 120 beds in this hospital are available to white persons only.

The lack of hospital beds for Negroes is reflected in statistics on attended births from the City and County Health Departments. In 1946-47, 116 Negro babies were delivered by mid-wives in the City, as against only one white baby; the figures for the County were 10 white and 108 Negro babies. Doctors attended 1,649 white births and 367 Negro births in the City, and 1,384 white and 154 Negro births in the County.

Although the Health Committee found the quality of service rendered by mid-wives generally good, it cannot, of course, be considered equal to that of a physician. It should be noted, too, that there is no institution for expectant Negro mothers from low-income families corresponding to the Maternity Shelter for whites.

There are but four Negro doctors in the County. They are not allowed to care for their patients in the General Hospital. The only hospital facilities open to them are those of the McClaren Medical Shelter, a private, general-type hospital of only nine beds, operated by a Negro physician.

Since there are so few Negro physicians, many Negro patients naturally are treated by white doctors. It was found that 90 per cent of the local white physicians see Negro patients regularly in their offices. But, of these, only 8 per cent have adequate waiting rooms for Negroes; 85 per cent have inadequate waiting rooms, and 7 per cent have no waiting rooms at all for Negroes.

Only three Negro dentists serve Greenville County's 29,258 Negroes, as compared to 34 dentists for the white population of 107,322. No white dentists see Negroes routinely in their offices, although many see them occasionally as referred patients. A dental clinic open to both races is held once a week at the General Hospital for emergency care. Because of a lack of available personnel, only two white and one Negro dentist are employed by the South Carolina State Board of Health. As a result, the Negro dentist spends only six weeks each year in the Negro schools of Greenville caring for the dental needs of the pupils.

Recent expansion of area has increased the City's population from 42,000 to 70,000. The City Health Department, which was already understaffed, has had its work load greatly increased. It has four nurses — two white and two Negro — and the County Health Department has only one nurse for every 20,000 people. The U. S. Public Health Service standard is one nurse per 5,000 population.

The city school system has one nurse and one part-time Negro physician for the Negro schools. This is inadequate, since little medical care and instruction are given these students elsewhere.

Although free clinics for general medical care at the General Hospital are consistently used to capacity and are frequently overcrowded,

many indigent persons, because of ignorance or pride, do not make use of them.

Recommendations

That the number of beds for Negro patients at the General Hospital be increased; that some private or semi-private rooms be provided; that Negro physicians be extended staff privileges so that they may treat their own patients; that adequate bathroom facilities be provided in the Negro ward; and that consideration be given to the training of Negro nurses.

That consideration be given to establishing for Negroes an institution corresponding to the Maternity Shelter for white women.

That doctors provide adequate waiting rooms for Negro patients wherever possible.

That the Piedmont Medical Association attempt to secure additional Negro doctors and dentists for the County, perhaps by approaching medical schools and universities.

That Negro children be urged to have their teeth examined before entering public schools, and to obtain the required treatment as early as possible from their private dentists.

That the officials of the City and County Health Departments be supported in their requests for additional personnel.

That more health work be carried on in the Negro schools by conducting more frequent examinations, adding formal instruction in physical and mental hygiene, and employing a dental hygienist.

That membership in the Blue Shield and Blue Cross (voluntary health insurance) be given favorable publicity, since such membership would lessen the load on the clinics and make private medical attention more widely available.

Sanitation and Safety

SEWAGE. A serious problem of sewage disposal is complicated by divided responsibility. The main trunk sewers and disposal works are under the jurisdiction of the Greater Greenville Sewer District Commission. But the various subdivisions of the District have jurisdiction over their respective sewage collecting systems. The subdivisons are: City of Greenville, Parker Subdistrict, Northgate Subdistrict, and City View Subdistrict.

The Sanitation and Safety Committee located and reported three places in the City where sewage overflows from the sanitary system into nearby streams. This overflow is believed to be caused by old and partly obstructed sewers. Overflow pipes, to localize the discharge, have been installed at several points. The City Board of Health is aware of this situation and reports that it will take drastic action if evidence of a serious health hazard appears.

TOILET FACILITIES. A city ordinance was passed in April, 1948, requiring that one toilet, either inside or outside, be furnished for every two dwelling units. Yet inadequate toilet facilities still exist in some heavily populated Negro rental sections. In most instances the flush toilets are located outdoors and, according to the City Health Commissioner, "75 per cent of them are old or in need of repair." The 1948 ordinance has been pretty well enforced within the old city limits, but many violations exist in the newly annexed areas. One afternoon's survey revealed four violations; the worst of these was an instance in which three toilets served eleven families. The City Health Department, when informed, promptly investigated and ordered the owners to comply with regulations. Fortunately, the Department has now begun a house-to-house check. Pit toilets were found within the old city limits in Fincher's

Alley. Accurate information on conditions in the recently annexed areas is not available.

WATER. Water supply and pressure are not adequate in much of the area lying to the east of the old city limits, though a satisfactory amount is expected to be available within a year. Nicholtown, a large section inhabited mostly by Negro residents, is presently without an adequate water supply. The City Health Department will, upon request, analyze the water from any wells within the City to determine its fitness for domestic use.

SAFETY. With the completion and staffing of two fire stations now under construction, **equipment** and **personnel** should be sufficent for the entire City. But **protection** will not be adequate until needed pipe lines and hydrants have been installed in the area between old Eastover-Overbrook limits and the new city limits. In the Parker Subdistrict, there are only nine paid firemen for the two existing stations. The remainder of the force is voluntary. As local residents have learned through bitter experience the voluntary units are too slow in reaching a fire to provide adequate protection. The City Fire Department no longer answers calls outside the city limits, unless a church, school, or business employing more than 20 persons is involved. As a result, many residents of this area are without adequate fire protection. Some of them are not even aware of the fact.

Blinker lights are needed at two locations for the safety of school children: on the bypass highway from East Stone Avenue to Laurens Road at Allen School, and at the "blind" corner of Jenkins and Calhoun Streets. About 95 per cent of Sterling High School students are exposed to traffic dangers daily between Jenkins Street and Arlington Avenue. Because of the absence of paved sidewalks, most of them walk in the street or the gutters.

There are an estimated 400 miles of paved streets in the City, only 250 miles of which are in good repair. Greenville also has 75 miles of unpaved streets, 300 miles of unpaved sidewalks, and 100 miles of streets with no sidewalks at all. About 25 per cent of this mileage is in Negro sections. The Committee found the poorest of the unpaved streets in two predominantly Negro sections — Nicholtown and Greenline. Most of the paved streets in Negro areas were hard-surfaced with tar and gravel during the last nine months. Heavy rains have washed away the surface, leaving gullies and holes at the edges.

A bond issue to finance additional paving has been authorized. The procedure required to secure paving is for two-thirds of the owners of abutting property to petition City Council. The property owners must agree to reimburse the City for one-half of the costs, which may be paid in installments over a period of five years.

GARBAGE. The number of garbage collections per week in Negro sections varies from one to three. A city ordinance requires only one. The Superintendent of Sanitation states that trucks make the first round

and begin a second, "but they may not make it all the way the second time." The Committee feels that the time elapsing between collections is too long for adequate sanitation. It is reported that no collections at all are made on the Compress Line, an extension of Hampton Avenue, which is outside the City and under the jurisdiction of the Greater Greenville Sanitation Commission.

A city ordinance, still in effect, requires that garbage cans be placed on the street for convenient collection. This practice is still followed in Negro sections, unlike most white sections, and contributes to a general slum-like appearance. The Superintendent of Sanitation has said that the ordinance is no longer enforced, but it was cited by a city official only recently in response to an inquiry from a Negro citizen. Open garbage trucks used in many Negro sections are known to litter streets as they proceed, loaded beyond capacity.

Although pest control is technically not considered the duty of any city department, the City Health Department is urging City Council to include funds in its budget for a rat-control program.

Recommendations

That responsibility for the operation and maintenance of all sanitary sewers within the metropolitan area of Greenville be placed under a single authority.

That sewage overflow pipes be extended so that they will discharge into streams below the water surface.

That the amount of stream pollution caused by sewage overflow be determined by analysis. If the streams receiving the overflow are more dangerously polluted than other streams in the area, the City should sterilize the overflow by chlorination or other suitable method.

That the City Health Department continue to check closely and enforce the city ordinance prescribing the number of families that may use one toilet.

That a plan be worked out to inform all Negro property owners of the procedure required to get streets and sidewalks paved.

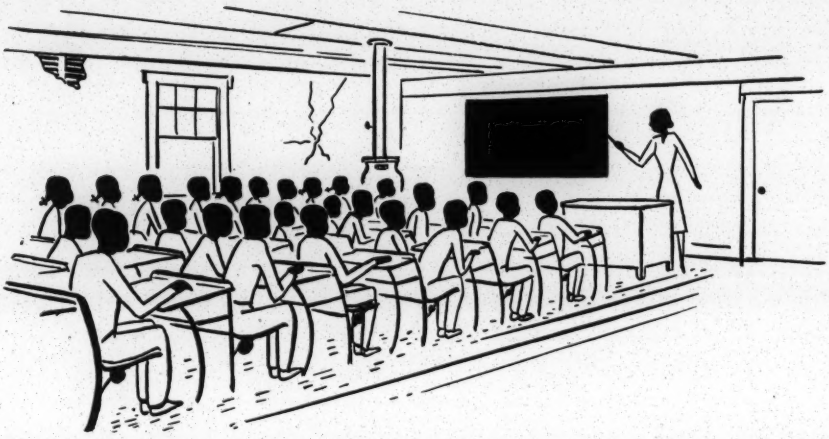
That action be taken to protect the safety of school children at the blind corners of South Calhoun and Jenkins Streets, and Green and Dunbar Streets. That proper authorities also consider the advisability of widening South Calhoun Street between the end of the pavement and Jenkins Street, which is the main approach to Sterling High School.

That a citizens' group investigate the possibility of securing a public rest room for Negroes in the vicinity of Broad and Fall Streets.

That the city ordinance requiring that garbage be placed at the curb be repealed. Perhaps a substitute should be passed requiring garbage to be placed in the rear wherever possible.

That the proper authorities of the City of Greenville and the Greater Greenville Sanitation Commission investigate the advisability of at least two garbage collections a week in all areas.

That a method be devised to inform citizens in the various sections of Greater Greenville of the fire protection they are entitled to by law.



Education

PUBLIC education dealt with in this report is limited largely to the Greenville City and Parker District Schools. A thorough study has already been made on a county-wide basis, and no effort was made to duplicate it.

COUNTY SURVEY. During 1949 a committee of 15 citizens was appointed by the Greenville County Delegation to study the administration of schools within the County. At present there are 86 school districts in the County, ranging from small districts having only a one-room school to the two largest, the Parker School District and the Greenville City School District. Two-thirds of the County's population is served by these two large districts, while one-third is served by the remaining 84 districts.

The Greenville County School Survey recommended that there be greater consolidation of the school districts. There was mixed feeling about two alternative plans: a single unit system for the County, or a division of the County into about four school districts. On July 11, 1950, the people of the County will vote on whether or not to reorganize the present system of administering education in the County.

GREENVILLE SCHOOLS. One way to measure education is by the value of school property per pupil in average daily attendance. For the Greenville City Schools in 1948-49, the figure was $576.00 for white students and $319.00 for Negro students. Corresponding figures for

the State of South Carolina were not available for 1948-49. However, for the year 1945-46 the figures were $209.00 for white pupils and $43.00 for Negro pupils. The value of school property per pupil for all pupils in the Greenville City Schools was $492.00, a figure which exceeds the latest available figure for the U. S. of $413.00 in 1945-46. No information was available for Parker District Schools, since 5 of the 15 schools in that District are owned by textile mills and rented to the District.

The current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance is another school measurement. In the Greenville City School District $139.00 was spent per pupil in 1948-49; in the Parker School District $118.00 was spent; and for the entire County (including the two above districts) the figure was $111.00. For the whole State, the figure in 1945-46 was $74.00. The U. S. average for that year was $135.00.

BUILDINGS. The major problem facing public education for Greenville's Negro children is an acute shortage of buildings and facilities. Four elementary schools — Allen, Gower, Oscar Street, and Sullivan Street — maintain double sessions. In 1949-50 some 1,880 Negro children attended classes from 8 A. M. to 12:30 P. M., while 614 attended from 1:30 P. M. to 5:00 P. M. This schedule provides only four and one-half hours a day for each student, exclusive of physical and health education classes. State regulations prescribe a minimum of five hours instruction daily.

Double sessions pose many school and community problems: It is difficult to check employment of children during school hours, truancy is harder to detect, and facilities are not easily maintained in good repair. It is also necessary to employ two sets of teachers, which complicates supervision by the principals. A new elementary school is planned, its location to depend largely on the area for development chosen by the Greenville Housing Authority. The construction of Sterling High School relieved some of the pressure of over-crowding by removing senior grades from the elementary schools. But much remains to be done before double sessions can be discontinued.

ENROLLMENT. School enrollment of Negro children in Greenville is excellent. As revealed in a City Schools census of 1948, and in this survey, fewer than 200 children of school age were unaccounted for. For a total enrollment of 3,886 in 1948, an average attendance of 3,299 was reported. Reasons given for non-attendance were: parental indifference, lack of proper clothing, and inadequate incomes which cause children to seek employment and also bring about poor health. Parker District has a white attendance teacher, and Greenville employs a Negro visiting teacher who handles attendance problems. The school term in the schools surveyed is 180 days, as compared to a national average of 176.8 days in 1945-46; in that year the average for South Carolina

was 172.1 days — 178.1 for white pupils and 164.2 for Negro pupils.

TEACHERS' PAY. In both the Greenville City and Parker School Districts, as well as throughout the County, equal salaries, based on training and experience, are paid to Negro and white teachers. Since many of the Negro teachers have had less experience and training than the white teachers, the average salary of Negro teachers is lower than that of white teachers in most of the County's school districts.

Average teacher's pay during 1949-50 was $2,400 per year in the Parker Schools and $2,258 in the Greenville City Schools. In the latter, white teachers averaged $2,378, while Negro teachers averaged $2,018. These figures compare favorably with the 1947-48 average for the State of $1,637, but they do not reach the national 1947-48 average of $2,550. Teachers' pay in the other 84 districts of the County falls considerably below that paid in these two large districts.

The schools do not assume responsibility for transportation, with the exception of Brutontown School in Parker District. Public transportation to Sterling High School is difficult and inadequate. Children in the Nicholtown area have been forced to travel too far to school, but the planned construction of a grammar school in this area is expected to lessen the problem.

Playground space, judged by accepted standards, is inadequate. However, all but one of the schools have outside play space and some type of equipment. Additional space is now being provided at Oscar Street, Sterling High, and Sullivan Street Schools. Health services in both districts include immunization by the local Health Departments and dental service by the State Health Department. City schools for Negroes have the part-time services of a physician. He gives examinations which are followed up by the school nurse. The nurse is employed full-time.

There are two private schools for Negroes in Greenville, with a total combined enrollment of about 312. Both institutions emphasize religious training, perhaps to the neglect of basic academic subjects. Principals of the public schools, to which students of these institutions often transfer, feel that the preparation offered by them is inadequate.

PROGRESS. Greenville's Negro pupils go farther in school than those in three other major South Carolina cities with which it has been compared. Based on a study of the period 1933-45, more Negroes completed eleven grades in Greenville, and more entered college, than in the other cities. 1,939 Negro children entered the first grade in Greenville in 1933. By 1944 the number completing the eleventh grade was 187. And in 1945, 79 entered college in South Carolina or elsewhere.

As of August, 1949, 513 Negro veterans were participating in vocational training under the G. I. Bill of Rights. Fourteen courses of training were available under this program.

Federal, state, and local governments give financial aid to adult education activities. These consist largely of the teaching of illiterates, group instruction in home-making, and tours by adults to points of interest in the state. In 1949, some 258 adults of Greenville County were enrolled in night classes where subjects below the sixth grade level were taught. From time to time, institutes are held on vocational subjects above the fifth grade level. Adult groups are taught infant care at Sterling High School. The Phillis Wheatley Association, the YWCA, the PTA, and similar organizations play a vital role in the adult education activities. Similarly, much of the program of the Community Council is a form of adult education.

Recommendations

That more school buildings and facilities be provided, in order that double sessions with their accompanying problems may be discontinued; the location of such buildings and facilities should be determined by trends of population density.

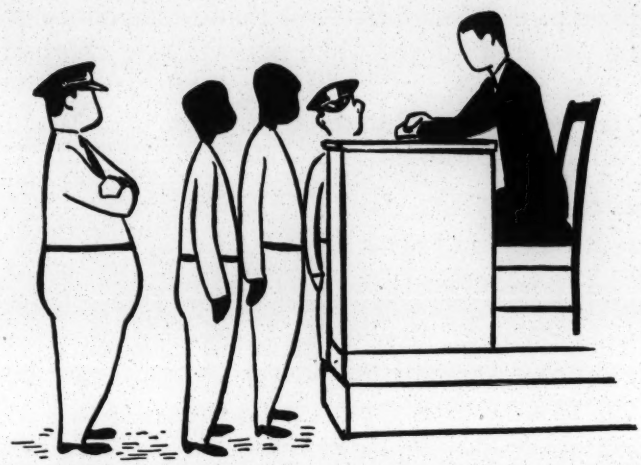
That a conference be called of all those governmental and private agencies concerned with adult education to determine areas of responsibility and methods of financing.

That increased educational opportunities beyond the fifth grade, both vocational and academic, be made available to Negroes who wish to further their education while working.

That increased appropriations be made to permit greater use of school buildings at night for adult education courses.

That courses in nutrition, consumer education, home economics, health, and baby care be extended in the various communities through the public school system.

That the various volunteer social welfare organizations be encouraged through their participation in the Community Council to offer Negroes such adult education courses as are not made available through the school system.



Law Enforcement

MORE Negroes than whites, in proportion to population, were arrested in Greenville during 1948. Though the city's Negro population is estimated at 25 to 30 per cent, Negroes made up 38 per cent of the total arrests. In the county as a whole, this proportion was even larger. Greenville County's population is about 22 per cent Negro; yet, of the persons brought before the General Sessions and County Court, approximately 32 per cent were Negroes.

The breakdown of offenders by age and sex is also revealing. A substantial majority of the Negroes arrested were over 45 years old, and almost one-half of all the women arrested were Negroes — a proportion much greater than the population ratio would warrant.

There are several reasons for the relatively large number of Negroes taken into custody. It was found, in contrast to the white group, that one of the leading causes of arrests of Negro men was "investigation" only. The Law Enforcement Committee was given no explanation for this fact, but it may indicate that officers are more inclined to arrest Negroes without formal charges being made or warrants issued.

The other leading causes of arrest are suggestive. In addition to "investigation," the violations most frequently charged were drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and gambling. Since drunkenness led as a cause of arrest for both white and Negro, male and female, it is evident that facilities for treating chronic alcoholics are needed for both racial groups. Gambling, on the other hand, was not a major cause of white arrests. In considering this difference, it is well to keep in mind that fewer recreational opportunities are available for Negro adults than for white adults.

One encouraging finding of the Committee was the low incidence of interracial killings. In the year 1948, three white persons were charged with killing Negroes. Two of these — police officers charged with the slaying of a Negro — were tried and acquitted. There were no cases in which a Negro was charged with the murder of a white person.

As compared with this small number of interracial homicides, there were 16 cases of Negroes slain by Negroes. In only 10 of the 16 cases were the perpetrators found guilty. Of those 10, 3 received sentences ranging between ten and nineteen years and 7 received sentences of less than ten years. This would seem to support the contention that the courts often do not take a grave view of the murder of one Negro by another.

It is noteworthy that a strikingly large percentage of the Negroes arrested for all causes were "repeaters." Three-fourths or more of them had previous police records. Unfortunately, there are no provisions for the rehabilitation of these chronic offenders. The only permanent places of detention for prisoners in Greenville County are the county chain gang and the city stockade. Neither of these makes even a pretense of pursuing a rehabilitation program; they merely carry on the routine work of street and road maintenance. With their inadequate appropriations, neither of these places of detention could maintain a program of training, education, health care, and recreation necessary for successful rehabilitation. There is also great need for a more healthful prisoner diet and for separate quartering of youthful prisoners and first offenders, so that they may be removed from the influence of hardened criminals.

The only cases of brutal treatment of prisoners reported to the Committee were charged against city police officers. It was found, however, that in every case brought to the attention of the chief of police disciplinary action had been taken. Such brutality as has occurred appears to have been practiced in defiance of official policy and instruction.

Probation officers of Greenville County — federal, state, and juvenile court — were found to be well qualified and efficient.

Recommendations

That the City Council consider the appointment of Negro policemen, for work exclusively in the Negro community. (The experience of other Southern cities with this practice should be consulted.)

That a study be made of the need for police women of both races in the city police department.

That county and city authorities investigate the need for separate quarters for youthful and first offender prisoners.

That the City Council and County Delegation examine the requirements of a rehabilitation program for long-term prisoners.

That newspapers and other public media be encouraged to publicize any flagrant violations of civil rights and any deficiencies in law enforcement.

Recreation

OPPORTUNITIES for wholesome recreation are urgently needed by Greenville's Negro citizens. In its survey of public recreation for Negroes, the Committee found the following deficiencies:

No city park available to Negroes;

No state park for Negroes in the entire Piedmont area of South Carolina;

Only 8 summer playgrounds (5 existing and 3 more planned for 1950), small and inadequately supervised, in the City;

Only 22 acres of park and recreation space in the City, of which 7½ acres are school property, compared with the 250 acres which would be necessary to meet the desired minimum standard of 1 acre for each 100 people.

Although many private and voluntary agencies are active in recreation for Negroes, the Committee found that their facilities and programs do not begin to meet the need. Existing school facilities are not fully used by community groups because trained leaders have not been found, funds are lacking to employ supervisory personnel, and in some cases equipment is poor or lacking. Most of the Negro churches have neither the facilities nor the trained leadership around which to build adequate recreation programs, either for their own members or for the community as a whole. The white churches sponsor only a few limited recreation activities for Negroes, although the Young People's Class at one Methodist church has been notable for its activities in behalf of increased recreation facilities for Negroes.

Art, music, drama, lectures, and other cultural resources are limited in the Negro community. Many of the cultural events held in the City are open to white persons only. The one-room Negro Branch of the Greenville Public Library, although well patronized and conveniently located, is too small and crowded to serve its users adequately.

The growth of voluntary recreation programs, such as those sponsored by the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YWCA, Phillis Wheatley Association and its Ansel Arnold Branch, and the Community Council's Recreation-Education Division, has been encouraging, and Negroes have participated in increasing numbers. All these programs, however, greatly need more volunteer and paid leaders, increased financial support, and improved facilities for wider community participation.

Two movie theaters with a total of only 580 seats, a small rundown wading pool, professional baseball games, dances, and numerous neighborhood restaurants and "juke joints" make up the total commercial recreational resources for Negroes in Greenville. According to the Committee's findings, conditions are unwholesome at many of these places: the dances are often marked by friction between white spectators and the Negroes attending; many of the cafes are reported to serve beer to minors; and fighting and gambling make most of the restaurants and cafes community "trouble spots." It is apparent that increased police supervision is needed in these areas.

Recommendations

That the City of Greenville establish a large community park for Negroes with **year-round** recreational facilities, including swimming pool, skating rink, community center, athletic fields, and other facilities usually found in large community parks.

That play areas be provided in any new residential housing developments for Negroes.

That unused land belonging to individuals or organizations be loaned or otherwise made available for recreational activities.

That the South Carolina State Forestry Commission, with local assistance, provide a Negro State Park in the Greenville area.

That the City of Greenville jointly with the schools and other interested agencies increase the appropriations for employment of additional trained recreation leaders, especially in neighborhoods where nothing is now available.

That the Greenville County Delegation consider the establishment of a county-wide recreation program.

That additional funds be made available to the schools in order that responsible community groups can make use of school facilities whenever such use does not interfere with regular school activities.

That volunteer leadership in recreation by school personnel, parents, and older students be encouraged, not only through school authorities, but also through the Community Council, in the sponsorship of leadership training courses.

That future Scout troups be organized in such neighborhood centers as churches and schools in sections at present not being served.

That the YMCA investigate the possible development of programs for Negro boys and young men.

That more emphasis be placed upon adult participation in the program of the Phillis Wheatley Association and its Ansel Arnold Branch; that leadership continue to promote the program on a neighborhood basis; and that the facilities of the Phillis Wheatley Building be used when available and suitable in cooperation with Girl Scouts, YWCA, and YMCA.

That the financial sponsorship of Phillis Wheatley be studied by the Phillis Wheatley Board and the Community Council, in relation to its proposed plan of serving the entire Negro community of Greenville through neighborhood groups. This is generally regarded as a public service to be financed by tax funds.

That every encouragement be given to investment in commercial recreation projects such as swimming pools, skating rinks, bowling alleys, and theaters designed to show better type films, and that a private film society be encouraged on a membership basis.

That steps be taken to enforce more rigidly the laws regarding presence of minors in places where alcoholic beverages are served, gambling at carnivals, indecent exhibitions at carnivals, and order at public performances and gatherings.

That a general program of education for cultural appreciation be instituted throughout the schools, churches, Phillis Wheatley, and other existing agencies.

That cultural organizations such as Community Concerts, Town Hall, Little Theater, Greenville Symphony, etc., consider plans whereby their public programs may be open to Negroes who are interested in attending.

That a new location be found for the Negro Branch of the Greenville Public Library, since present space is inadequate.

Transportation

TRANSPORTATION facilities and services for Negroes in Greenville consist of the city buses, taxicabs, the Union Bus Station, and the Southern Railway Terminal.

On the whole, courteous service is given both white and Negro passengers on city buses. But observers for the Transportation Committee noted instances of rudeness or thoughtlessness which indicate that there is room for improvement. Drivers, and passengers as well, sometimes gauge their courtesy and service by the color of the rider. The South Carolina law pertaining to seating, which is posted in every bus, is not always fairly enforced. It provides that white patrons shall seat themselves from the front and colored patrons from the rear. According to observers, white patrons all too often begin seating themselves halfway or even farther back in the bus. This means that Negroes may be standing before the end of the line is reached, although seats are vacant in front. Some drivers will voluntarily correct this situation, but others will not, even when asked to do so.

One deficiency in the routing of bus service deserves attention. The closest bus lines to Sterling High School for Negroes are on Pendleton Street and Green Avenue. This means that the bus stop nearest the school is five blocks, or about half a mile, away. The principal of the school estimates that 600 of the 1,300 students use the buses and would ride closer to the school if that were made possible.

In the Union Bus Station, separate waiting rooms are provided for the two races. The white waiting room is 50 by 150 feet and seats 52 persons; the Negro waiting room is 15 by 15 feet and seats 19. The same ticket sellers serve both white and Negro ticket windows. There

appears to be no established policy on the right to service, and Negro observers feel that Negroes are served only when demand at the white window is not great.

The only entrance to the Negro waiting room is through a narrow passage from the loading zone. Ventilation is not adequate in summer, and the door and windows are not screened. There is no water cooler. No eating facilities are provided for Negro travelers. Rest rooms are too small and are not cleaned often enough.

Though the size of the Negro and white waiting rooms differs at the Southern Railway Terminal — being 75 by 100 feet for white and 67 by 40 feet for Negroes — each contains seats for about 60 persons. The Negro waiting room has no water cooler. The same ticket sellers serve both whites and Negroes here also, but there is no evidence of long waits at the window. No eating facilities are provided for either race. Though the Negro rest rooms are small, the facilities are the same as those for whites, with one exception: There is no washbasin in the Negro men's room. At the time this survey was made, the door of the Negro women's rest room stood ajar, since the lock was broken. It has since been repaired.

The sixteen taxicab companies serving Greenville charge the same rates and carry both white and Negro passengers. The Committee found this transportation service satisfactory.

Recommendations

That the Duke Power Company be asked to investigate the possibility of extending bus service to Sterling High School.

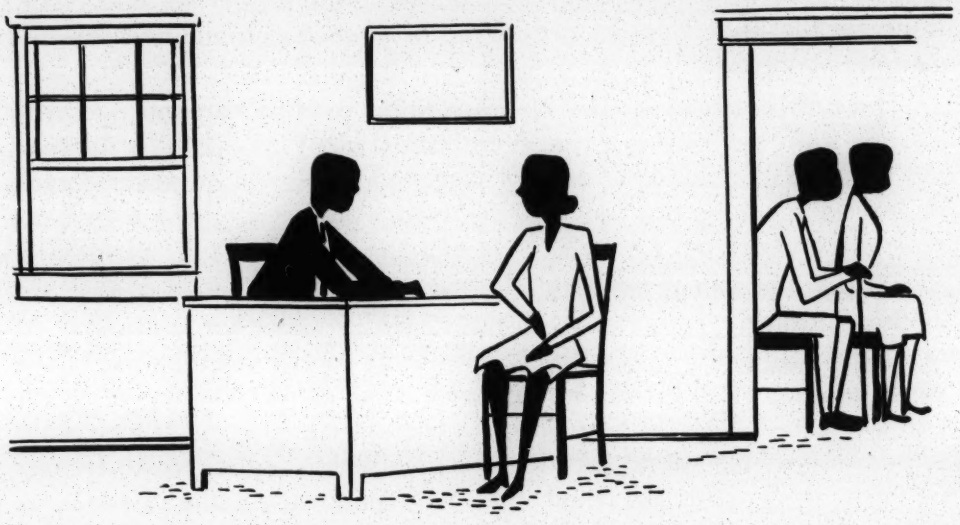
That the Company request its drivers to require strict adherence to the state law requiring white patrons to seat from the front and colored patrons from the rear, thus sometimes eliminating the necessity of Negroes or whites standing. To enforce this regulation fairly, the Committee feels the Company should place its own observers on buses at regular intervals.

That special training be given bus drivers by the Company, in order that seating regulations may be carried out with a minimum of friction.

That a destination be shown on front, sides, and back of all buses. At present some are marked "Special" and some not marked at all, making it impossible for persons unfamiliar with the route to ride with ease and certainty.

That additional space for the Negro waiting room at the Union Bus Station be considered, along with some means of artificial ventilation, screens for the windows and door, and a water cooler; that there be more frequent cleanings and inspections of the Negro waiting room and rest rooms; and that arrangements be made for more prompt ticket service.

That the Southern Railway Terminal provide a wash basin for the Negro men's rest room and that a water cooler be placed in the Negro waiting room.



Welfare

THE Committee on Community Welfare found that 9 of the 13 welfare agencies supported by the Community Chest provide services for Negroes: the Community Council of Greenville County, Phillis Wheatley Association, Travelers Aid Society, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, YWCA, Salvation Army, Family Service Association, and Visiting Nurse Association. One of these agencies (Phillis Wheatley) serves Negroes exclusively, and four agencies (Boy Scouts, YWCA, Phillis Wheatley, and Family Service) employ Negroes on their staffs. The Salvation Army and the Family Service Association devote about 40 per cent of their services to Negroes, largely in the field of emergency relief.

Public agencies serving Negroes include the County Children's Court, County Department of Public Welfare, County Home, and the Youth Service Center which provides health and welfare services for children in the Greenville City Schools. The Department of Public Welfare has professionally trained Negro workers on its staff.

The most urgent needs in the public welfare field, the Survey discovered, are for more money and additional personnel, both white and Negro, in the Child Welfare Division of the County Department of Public Welfare. Here the high average load of 70 cases per worker means that cases must wait two months for attention. Inadequate funds keep this agency from providing needed foster home care for many children now living in unhealthy and harmful environments. The detention home provided for Negro children by the Children's Court also

needs more adequate facilities, but the Committee feels that the more urgent child welfare needs in the community should be given priority.

Many other private voluntary agencies are active in Greenville, and all the following offer their services to Negroes: American Red Cross, Greenville Hearing Society, American Cancer Society, Greenville Chapter of the Crippled Children's Society of South Carolina, Hopewell Tuberculosis Association, and National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Of these agencies, only the American Red Cross has a Negro on its board and employs a Negro staff worker.

The Committee findings show that both private and public welfare agencies are seriously hampered by inadequate budgets and a lack of professionally trained workers. Furthermore, their effectiveness is limited by the absence of other essential agencies; the community has none of the following: institution for feeble-minded Negro children; industrial school for delinquent Negro girls; child guidance clinic; home for unmarried Negro mothers; nursery schools for children of working Negro mothers; county nursing home for aged or indigent Negroes who are totally disabled and bedridden.

The Committee also reports a pressing need for increased psychiatric services for the treatment of emotional illness and for better state laws for the prevention of family desertion.

Recommendations

That every effort be made to secure an increase in professionally trained workers so that the help given by welfare agencies can be more adequate and constructive than at present.

That community leaders, individually and through their organizations, lend their support to community, state, and national efforts to provide the following:

(1) A review of legal procedures for handling desertion of family responsibilities, with a view toward enacting legislation making this a federal offense;

(2) A Negro State Training School for mental defectives;

(3) Increased psychiatric services, including a community mental hygiene clinic and provision for treatment of psychotic children at the State Hospital;

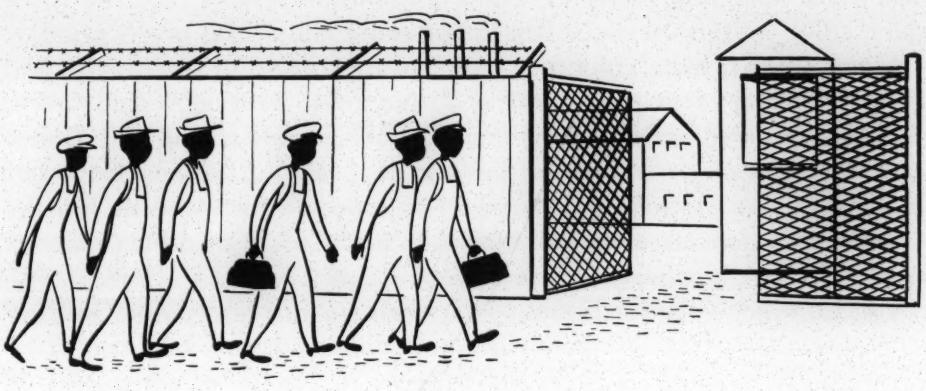
(4) Sufficient funds for emergency relief at the tax-supported Department of Public Welfare and the voluntarily-supported Family Service Association and Salvation Army;

(5) The location of possible foster homes by Negro church members.

That a definite unified effort be made to interpret welfare services to the Negro population through talks and discussions in schools, churches, and neighborhood clubs.

That the Greenville Community Council be used as a forum through which social welfare problems may be resolved.

That social welfare agencies serving Negroes consider the appointment of Negroes to their directing boards and advisory committees.



Industry and Employment

SINCE no public records were available showing occupations or incomes of Negro workers, the Industry and Employment Committee based its findings mainly on the family employment records of 1,100 students at Sterling High School. Their tabulation of the records yielded a sufficiently large sample totalling 7,244 occupations. In addition to this source, the Committee also consulted both individual employers and the City Directory information on Negro employment.

Of the Negroes employed in Greenville, 5,010 (69%) are unskilled workers, 1,993 (28%) are skilled or semi-skilled, and 241 (3%) occupy professional or managerial positions.

Except for teachers and ministers, there are strikingly few professional persons, although the Negro community is large enough to support more than the 4 doctors, 3 dentists, 1 pharmacist, and 9 social workers it now has. There is no Negro lawyer in the community. No information was available on the incomes of professional persons. But since the majority are teachers, ministers, nurses, and social workers, the Committee assumed that the average income in this group ranges between $2,000 and $3,500 per year.

Most skilled Negro men, higher in number than the Committee had expected, were found in the building trades. Among women, skilled labor was confined almost entirely to dressmaking, home decorating, and operation of beauty shops. Negroes are not eligible for City licenses required to practice certain skilled trades such as plumbing and elec-

trical work.

It is probable that incomes among skilled workers are relatively high at the present time, because the present high rate of building construction — normally seasonal in character — now offers steady employment. Masonry workers, plasterers, and cement finishers were found to average $2.25 per hour, while carpenters, painters, and plumbers' helpers averaged $1.50 per hour. Information was unavailable on the other skilled occupations, but under certain conditions time-and-a-half is paid to many skilled workers, thus raising their incomes considerably.

Unskilled Negroes are employed largely in domestic service or in the textile industry where they perform mostly janitorial duties. The City of Greenville, the railroads, and food processing plants are the next largest employers of unskilled Negro men, while clothing manufacturing firms and laundries employ the most unskilled Negro women.

From the statistics collected, it appears that most manufacturing firms pay a minimum of 75¢ per hour, with most employees being paid on a piece-work basis exceeding this figure. At the time the figures were collected, the City of Greenville paid its unskilled Negro employees an average of 62¢ per hour. Unskilled employees of laundries were paid an average of 60-75¢ per hour, and handlers of freight on trucking lines received an average of 40-55¢ per hour. Domestic servants were probably the lowest paid group, averaging $16.00 per week.

The Committee found that both the AFL and the CIO admit Negroes to membership in locals. Although there are no exact figures available, the total number of Negro union members probably does not exceed 500. The AFL, strongest in the building trades, accepts only skilled workers, and some trades have no Negroes employed in them. The CIO has confined its activities largely to textile workers and at present has a contract with only one mill. Since relatively few textile employees are Negroes, the activities of this union do not affect Negroes greatly.

Organized labor believes that the wage levels of Negroes must be raised, so that no large body of poorly paid workers can exist to serve as a brake on general wage increases. But the Committee feels that much remains to be done in clarifying the membership status of Negroes within union locals.

The Committee was unable to obtain exact information on the extent of unemployment among Negroes. There are indications, however, that a considerable number of Negro workers are between jobs or seasonally unemployed at any given time. Industries experience a high turnover in Negro employees, and some Negroes find only seasonal jobs. The State Employment Service handles about 2,100 Negro applicants per month. This agency employs no Negro interviewers.

Under State laws, no child under 16 may work during school hours or after 8 o'clock at night. It appears to the Committee that the laws are enforced and that investigations are made of all complaints.

Recommendations

That Negroes be admitted to City trades' examinations and licensed upon acquiring the necessary rating.

That Negroes be employed as interviewers in the public employment agency.

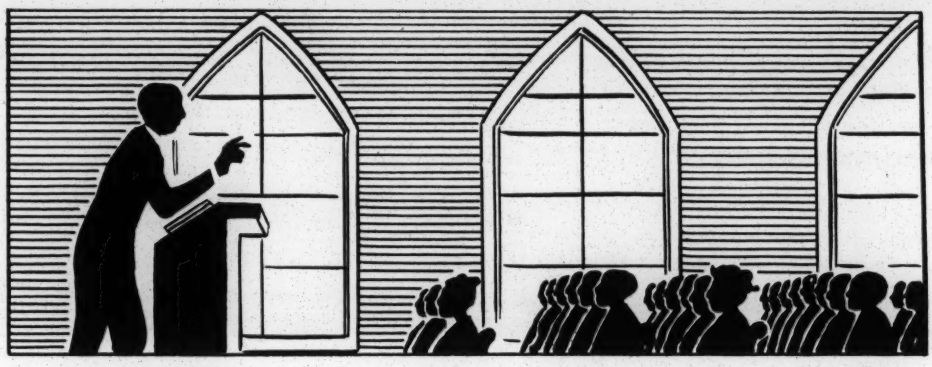
That the status of Negroes within labor unions be clarified with respect to their voting privileges.

That every encouragement be given to the investment of capital by Negroes in businesses needed in the community.

That a standard of competence be set for domestics in order that those able to meet the standard may be recognized and paid accordingly.

That a close relationship be established between the Chamber of Commerce and the Community Council, as a means of furthering industrial and employment opportunities for Negroes.

That the Bar Association and Negro community groups approach the law schools and advise them of the need for a Negro lawyer in Greenville.



Religious Resources

NO PICTURE of a community would be complete if it did not take into account religious facilities and opportunities. The Religious Resources committee examined the physical plants and programs of 37 Negro churches, representing the following denominations: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Holiness, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist, and House of Prayer.

These churches list a total combined membership of 8,576, of which probably half is active. It is true that in relation to population there are too many small churches, and many of them could profit by consolidation. But the apparent devotion of the active members to their own churches makes any such action unlikely.

Buildings generally are in poor condition. Most of the churches are no more than a single auditorium, with no suitable space for Sunday School. A very few have a room which could be used for recreation, but only one — St. Anthony's — has adequate facilities. Three churches have new buildings under construction, and two others are planning to build.

None of the churches employs trained workers or has the means of training members to teach or lead young people's groups. Only ten of the churches have mid-week services, the remainder having Sunday programs only. Some sponsor such activities as Boy and Girl Scout troops, cooking and sewing clubs, and kindergartens. Many of the churches supply from their membership workers for Red Cross and other civic drives.

Until August, 1949, there was no interdenominational organization

of Negro ministers, but a Ministerial Alliance has now been formed. There still is no interdenominational orgainzation of Negro women in the City.

Recommendations

That churches initiate meetings to improve church sponsored recreation and young people's work.

That a Negro Council of Church Women be formed, to include all denominations in the City.

That the Ministerial Alliance be strengthened and include in its program joint Brotherhood Week meetings, union services, and promotion of interracial cooperation; this group might also explore the possibility of securing radio time for Negro ministers.

Community Participation

NEGRO community participation and responsibility are hampered by lack of leadership and by apathy toward the possibility of bettering conditions. Although a strong latent leadership exists in the Negro community, it needs encouragement and the opportunity to be effective.

Within the Negro community, the Committee found that most groups are fraternal, church, or social organizations, limited in membership to those of similar economic or educational status and therefore restricted in leadership and influence. There is no Urban League in Greenville, and the two existing community-wide groups, the Negro Citizens League and the NAACP, are neither very active nor strong. Attempts to stimulate interest in national organizations have largely failed.

Within the larger community, Negro participation is likewise limited. With two exceptions, Negroes are not regular members of the directing boards of any of the public or private social welfare agencies. The exceptions are the Phillis Wheatley Association, half of whose board members are Negroes, and the American Red Cross, which has one Negro board member. Only five of the private agencies and four of the public agencies employ Negroes on their professional staffs.

In the courts, Negroes do not receive many courtesies common in court procedure. They are not yet drawn for jury duty in proportion to

their population ratio, since jury panels are drawn from the voters' registration list; as Negro registration increases, this situation may be expected to improve. There is no local Negro lawyer.

The Committee also reports that the newspapers and radio could do much to encourage the development of Negro leadership and participation. Their present coverage of events and activities in the Negro community, except for crimes of violence, is very sparse.

The Committee notes several developments, however, which indicate growing leadership and community participation. Negroes are often members of advisory or sub-committees of social agencies. In the Community Council, for example, many committee positions are held by Negroes. This Survey itself, sponsored by the Community Council, resulted from the cooperative working relationship between Negroes and whites on study and directing committees. The YWCA has also done much to stimulate Negro leadership through its program for Negro women and girls.

There are encouraging developments in other fields as well: the recent establishment of a Negro weekly newspaper, the increase in Negro political participation, the work of the schools and PTA's in developing community interest and leadership, and the organization of community centers using neighborhood resources.

Recommendations

That groups within the Negro community, such as fraternal and professional groups, be encouraged to extend their programs beyond their own membership in order that valuable leadership may be made available.

That the Community Council, civic clubs, and other organizations give assistance to spontaneous movements within the Negro community designed to improve local conditions.

That the Bar Association and Negro community groups approach the law schools and advise them of the need for a Negro lawyer in Greenville.

That teachers be encouraged by the various school principals to continue their leadership in PTA and other community activities.

That students who leave the City for higher education be shown the advantages of returning and contributing to community life in Greenville.

That the newspapers be requested to review their policy with respect to the publication of news regarding Negroes.

That social welfare agencies serving Negroes consider the appointment of Negroes to their directing boards and advisory committees.

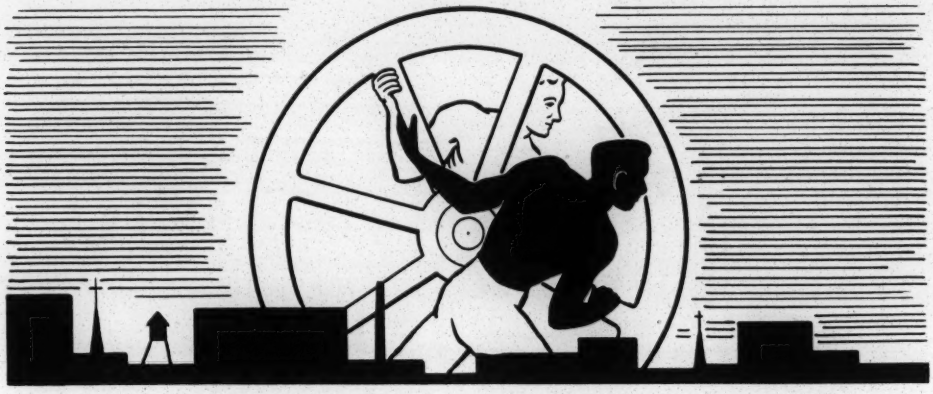
Housing

WHEN this self-survey was initiated in July of 1949, the Housing Committee selected ten major Negro areas for study. Students from Furman University and other interested lay persons volunteered their help in the fact-finding. Questionnaires were used to determine the condition of houses, number of families per unit, size of families, amount of rent paid, family income, sanitary facilities available, and other necessary information.

Meanwhile, the Greenville Housing Authority was allocated 300 to 600 housing units as part of the Federal Slum Clearance Program. In order to relate new construction to community needs, the Housing Authority is undertaking a city-wide survey that will include approximately 75 per cent of all sub-standard housing in Greenville. This is a considerably larger sampling than the Survey Committee was able to make. Therefore, it was thought advisable to await the results of the city-wide survey.

The Nicholtown section appears to be the focal area for new Negro housing under private sponsorship. One project, Roosevelt Heights, of approximately 400 units, is now under construction. Another of 100 units, proposed for the same area is delayed because of zoning restrictions. The Greenville Housing Authority has already encountered similar difficulties arising from zoning restrictions.

The Committee feels that the progress toward better housing for Negroes will mean continued interest on the part of all citizens. It plans to publish a supplementary report, embodying the results of the city-wide survey as soon as that is completed.



The Big Idea Goes On

IN THE spring of 1950, when the fact-finding was completed, members of the Steering Committee got together to compare notes. They met to consider two questions: "What have we accomplished so far?" and "Where do we go from here?"

They found that Greenville's big idea had already begun to pay off in specific, concrete improvements. Not all of these could be considered direct results of the self-survey alone; but, in almost every case, the self-survey had had a lot to do with making the forward step possible.

Here is how Dr. W. F. Loggins, President of the Community Council, has summed up some of the progress made: "Since the study began last July there have been a number of evidences of growing interest of the total citizenship of the County in the needs of Negro citizens. Better housing and slum-clearing projects are under way; a strong movement has been initiated toward providing better recreation programs and facilities, with a state park for Negroes in the Piedmont Area almost assured; a Negro newspaper began publication in January; a maternal-care project is under way; blinker lights have been installed at school crossings for safety of children; and there is keen interest in reorganizing the administration of the schools on a county-wide basis, an improvement which would be of help to both races."

There have been other improvements, too. Take health, for exam-

ple. The Women's Auxiliary of the Greenville County Medical Society, in cooperation with the State Auxiliary, is sponsoring a program of prenatal care for expectant mothers; it is hoped that this may lead to the establishment of a Negro maternity shelter, as recommended by the survey committee. Negro doctors for the first time are being invited to some of the meetings of the Greenville Medical Society, so that they may hear professional papers and take part in discussions. Another "first" was the organization of a Negro chapter of the Red Cross Gray Ladies, to serve as volunteers in Negro wards of the Greenville General Hospital.

In the field of education, funds have been allocated for additions to three Negro elementary schools. This new construction, which is expected to be finished early in 1951, will do away with the need for double sessions in them. Overcrowding will be further relieved by a new elementary school planned for the Nicholtown area, which will be built as soon as housing developments in that area are certain.

In addition to the private housing projects and public slum-clearance program mentioned in the committee's report, there has been an increased public awareness of the unhealthful conditions under which many Negro families have had to live. The City Health Department has condemned many of the houses in one particularly bad slum area which had long been an eyesore and a threat to health.

In the course of the self-survey, Greenville's two daily newspapers have improved noticeably in their handling of news about the Negro community. The word **Negro** is now properly capitalized, newsworthy pictures of Negro citizens are run, and courtesy titles are beginning to be used before the names of Negro women. Along with these improved practices, the news coverage of Negro events has grown markedly wider.

There are promising signs that Greenville may, before long, have Negro policemen patrolling the streets of its Negro sections. The City Council has appointed a special committee to investigate the experience of other cities in South Carolina and the South with the employment of Negro policemen.

ALL THESE tangible gains — and more — were viewed by the Steering Committee with pride, as examples of a new spirit of progress which the self-survey had fostered. But this does not tell the whole story. In fact, it may not even tell the most important part of the story. One member of the committee put it this way: "The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together — not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose — has been a release and a relief."

The rest of the committee agreed. One of them pointed out that the Recreation Committee had found working together so rewarding that, after completing its job of fact-finding, it decided not to disband but to

continue as part of the Community Council's Recreation-Education Division. Another member of the Steering Committee spoke of the growth of leadership and purpose in the Negro community itself. New opportunities, new initiative, and assumption of new responsibility had grown together as the spirit of the self-survey spread.

Everybody had something to say on the subject, but it all added up to one thing: More important than the facts themselves was the **process** of gathering them. That is the real secret to the success of the self-survey method.

YES, the Steering Committee was proud of the results to date, but nobody was complacent. The second question still needed an answer: "Where do we go from here?" It didn't take long for the group to decide that the answer to the second question grew out of the answer to the first. The people who had shared in the excitement of the survey, who had learned new ways of working together, and who had seen what the "facts" meant in human terms — these were the logical ones to push the follow-up. So the Steering Committee itself, including the chairmen and co-chairmen of the fact-finding committees, became the Follow-Up Committee. Their job now is to work with existing agencies, public and private, and with the citizens of Greenville, to make the recommendations of the survey into realities.

The job won't be finished over-night; some of the recommendations have already been realized, others will be in a matter of weeks or months, but some of the long-range projects may extend over several years. The group sitting around the table in the spring of 1950 knew that their job was really just beginning. As one of them said, "The time of our survey is not in the past, but in the future."

STEERING COMMITTEE

MRS. C. C. WITHINGTON
Church and civic leader
Chairman, Self-Survey

J. E. BECK
Principal, Sterling High School
Co-Chairman, Self-Survey

DR. W. F. LOGGINS
Superintendent, Greenville City Schools
President, Community Council

WAYNE FREEMAN
Editor, Greenville *Piedmont*
Vice President, Community Council

MRS. A. T. O'DELL
Director, Public and School Relations, Greenville City Schools
Vice President, Community Council

MRS. J. B. LITTLE
Treasurer, Community Council

MRS. JOHN M. HOLMES
Vice President, Community Council

HARRY R. STEPHENSON
Lawyer
Vice President, Community Council

DR. DWIGHT M. CHALMERS
Pastor, Westminister Presbyterian Church
Chairman, Survey Committee on Community Participation and Responsibility

DR. E. A. HUGGINS
Physician
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Community Participation and Responsibility

MISS BESSIE BOYD
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Community Participation and Responsibility

MRS. T. J. MIMS
State and City President, PTA Councils
Chairman, Survey Committee on Education

S. O. WALKER
Porter in Bonding Company
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Education

DR. THOMAS PARKER
Physician
Chairman, Survey Committee on Health

DR. E. L. McPHERSON
Physician
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Health

DR. L. P. HOLLIS
Superintendent, Parker School District
President, Community Chest
Chairman, Survey Committee on Housing

HENRY BIVENS
Custodian, U. S. Post Office
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Housing

MISS GRACE RAY
Interviewer, S. C. Employment Service
Chairman, Survey Committee on Industry and Employment

MRS. MAMIE C. NORRIS
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Industry and Employment

JUDGE RICHARD FOSTER
Judge, County Children's Court
Chairman, Survey Committee on Law Enforcement

NOAH ROBINSON
Porter, C. & W. C. Railroad
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Law Enforcement

MRS. JOHN F. WELBORN
Board member, Phillis Wheatley Association and Y.W.C.A.
Chairman, Survey Committee on Recreation

MISS DOROTHY BROCKMAN
President, *The Greenville American*
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Recreation

MRS. J. O. DYSART
Chairman, Survey Committee on Religious Resources

REV. E. J. GREEN
Minister and business man
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Religious Resources

E. D. FRY
Superintendent, Greater Greenville Sewer Commission
Chairman, Survey Committee on Sanitation and Safety

WILFRED WALKER
Instructor, Sterling High School
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Sanitation and Safety

REV. J. G. FORRESTER
Former Pastor, Brandon Methodist Church
Chairman, Survey Committee on Transportation

S. A. SMITH
Manager, Pilgrim Life Insurance Company
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Transportation

MISS LAURA EBAUGH
Professor of Sociology, Furman University
Chairman, Survey Committee on Welfare Services

MRS. MABEL WHITE BUTLER
Visiting Teacher, Greenville City Schools
Co-Chairman, Survey Committee on Welfare Services

MRS. R. M. CAINE
Chairman, Family Care Division of the Community Council

MISS ETHEL SIMPSON
Executive Secretary, Y.W.C.A.
Chairman, Recreation-Education Division of the Community Council

ALLEN HOWLAND
Exec. Secretary, S. C. Hospital Service Plan
Chairman, Health Division, Community Council

MRS. E. L. McPHERSON
Part-time staff member, Negro Branch of the Y.W.C.A.

J. E. HAMMOND
Principal, Oscar Street School

HAROLD J. WEEKLEY, *ex-officio*
Executive Secretary, Community Chest and Council

FRANK A. CLEAVER, *ex-officio*
Assistant Executive Secretary, Community Chest and Council